2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

remote origin, which are found in and near the harbour of Port Blair.

No one who has had the opportunity of seeing the natives of the various islands forming Great Andaman can fail to be struck with the similarity which marks their general appearance,[1] and to be convinced that, however much they may differ in many respects, they must at least claim a common origin. Any reasonable doubt on the subject has been removed by the discovery that although each of the several tribes possesses a distinct dialect, these are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same—i.e., the agglutinative—stage of development; further, it has been ascertained that among all, or at least among the natives of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, a coincidence of legends and customs is to be found, and that though the points of dissimilarity between the inhabitants of Great and Little Andaman are more marked, especially in regard to their weapons and implements, they are by no means such as would justify the belief that the latter are descendants of another branch of the Negrito family.

From what has been already said it will be understood that we are not yet in a position to decide whether one and the same dialect is spoken by all the communities designated as *jārawa-*, or whether, like the people of North and Middle Andaman, they must be regarded on linguistic grounds as representing two or more tribes.

The dialects of Great Andaman may be grouped into three classes, viz.:—

I. The *bṑjig-ngī̀ji-* and *.balʻawa-*.
II. The *bṑjig-yâb-* and *.ȧ̀kà-kôl-* and *.ồko-jū̀wai-*.
III. The *.ȧ̀kà-kedʻe-* and the two tribes of North Andaman.

But it must not be supposed that the similarity between the dialect of any of these groups is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same classification, for such is not the case; now, however, that intercommunication is less restricted it is not unusual to find that members of the various communities are sufficiently acquainted with the dialect spoken by their immediate neighbours as to hold intercourse with them.

Little which throws light on their past history can be gathered from the Andamanese or from their traditions, but from a study

[1] I have been told by the *.bṑjig-ngī̀ji-* that they can distinguish a *.balʻawa-* from members of the other tribes by his high cheek-bones, and the shape of his skull, which they describe as more dolichocephalic than those of other tribesmen; but as this tribe is now well-nigh extinct, it is impossible to determine the amount of credence which may be placed on this strange statement.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of their kitchen-middens[1] it appears that they must have inhabited these islands, and have remained in much the same state of barbarism for a very considerable period.

On the assumption that the members of these tribes lived entirely on the coast, it was till recently believed that the kitchen-middens[1] were always situated close to the sea-shore, and it was even said that the accident of their being found far inland would "indicate that some terrestrial changes in the islands have taken place." The incorrectness of this theory is beyond all question, as we have now ample evidence that not only on the coast, but also in the depth of the jungle, there are permanent encampments throughout the group, where we are assured many of these refuse heaps are to be found bearing traces which testify to the remoteness of their origin.

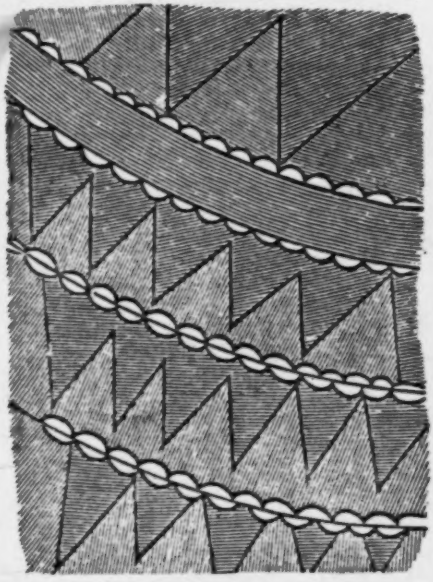
A change, however, appears to be gradually taking place in respect to the formation of these kitchen-middens, which is accounted for by the fact, that whereas in the olden days they were able to regard the slowly increasing heap with pride as witnessing to the success and skill in hunting and fishing of the community near whose encampment it was situated, nowadays all cause for boasting regarding their achievements is considered at an end in consequence of the material assistance they receive from the dogs we have given them, and the superiority (*sic*) of the weapons they have been able to manufacture from iron obtained from the Homes.

Various estimates have been hazarded as to the probable strength of the aboriginal population; but as no reliable data are procurable it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty on the subject. From recent observations and the ascertained ravages of certain epidemics it seems hardly likely that the aggregate population of Great Andaman at the present day exceeds 2,000 souls, while the *jārawa*, who inhabit Little Andaman and a few localities in Great Andaman, may perchance number from 1,000 to 1,500 more; amongst these communities the effect of our occupation cannot have had, as yet, the prejudicial influence which has unhappily resulted among the tribes of Great Andaman from contact with alien races, the causes of which, being noticed elsewhere, need not here be particularised, especially as they are chiefly such as have been found to follow

[1] Col. (now Gen.) H. Man was the first to open up the kitchen-middens in and near the harbour at Port Blair, and the late M. de Röepstorff subsequently devoted some time to their examination, but it does not appear that he has left any notes as to the results of his investigations; at present all that has been published on this subject is embodied in the late Dr. Stoliczka's paper "Note on the Kjökken-möddings of the Andaman Islands" (*vide* Proc. As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870).

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

XI. VANDYKES WITH SCOLLOPED BANDS AND CROSS LINES (? *ig-pòi·ŋyakŋga-*). 531



Painted with *ká·ŋgatá-bŭj-* on *ó·do-*[1]

Pottery.—1. These savages evince a superiority over the Australians, Tasmanians, Fuegeans, and many of the Pacific Islanders, in possessing some knowledge of the art of making pots. 323 172

2. It was formerly believed that they had "no vessel capable of resisting the action of fire,"[2] but careful examination of their kitchen-middens has proved, beyond all doubt, that their present manufacture was equalled—if indeed it were not surpassed—many generations ago by their ancestors; the traditions current among them on the subject may also be mentioned, in passing, as pointing to a like conclusion.

3. The late Dr. Stoliczka, in his interesting paper on the Andamanese kitchen-middens,[3] writes as follows:—"In submitting the rude fragments of pottery . . . to an archæologist in Europe, no one would long hesitate in referring them to the

[1] *Nautilus* shell, used as a drinking vessel.

[2] *Vide* Symes, who is also incorrect in adding in a footnote: "The fragments of earthenware vessels mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke were probably brought from the Nicobars or from the Continent, by the boats that often visit the Andamans for the purpose of taking the nests before mentioned" (*i.e.*, of the *Collocalia nidifica*).

[3] *Vide* Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, January, 1870.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323
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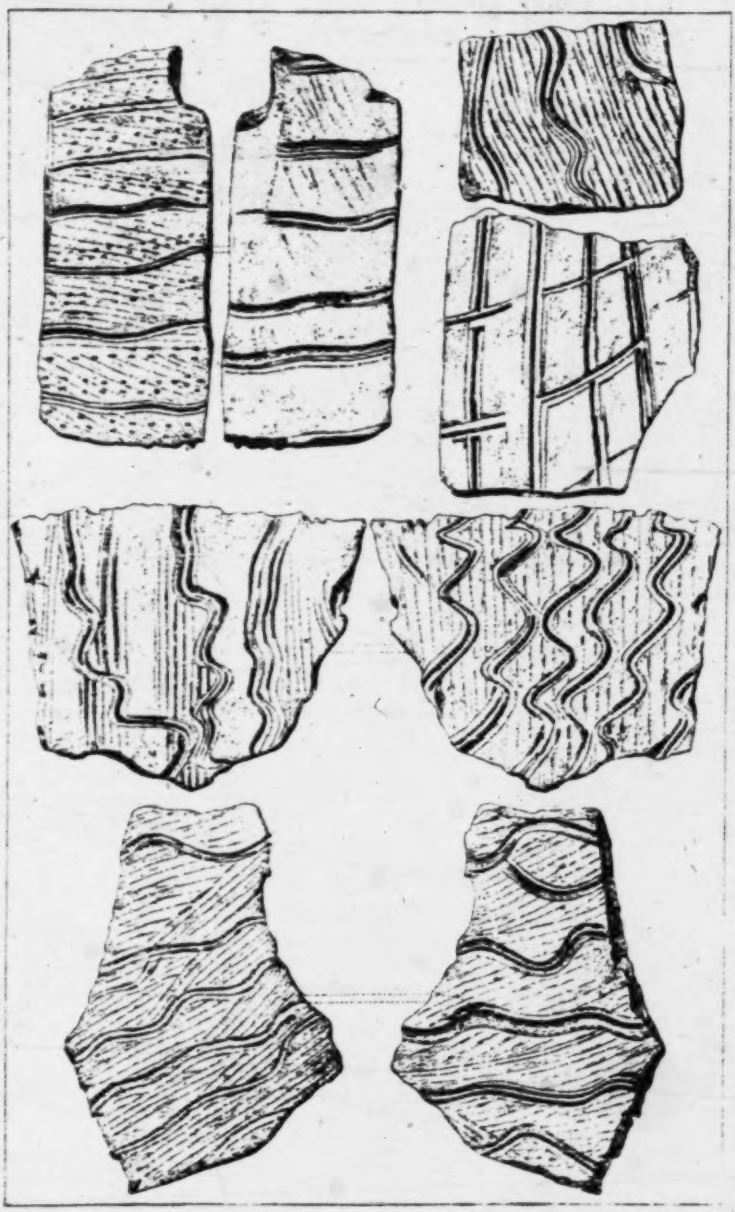

FRAGMENTS OF ANDAMANESE ORNAMENTED POTTERY

From a Kitchen-midden in Port Blair Harbour.

[facing p. 154]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 172 stone age, at least to the neolithic period; for, indeed, they are almost identical with the fragments of pottery found in the Danish kitchen-middens, though here fragments of pottery are comparatively very rare."

323 4. The manufacture of pots (*būj-*[1]) is not confined to any particular class, or to either sex, but the better specimens are generally produced by men, and though the result is in neither case very satisfactory as regards appearance, they yet answer the purpose for which they are intended very fairly,[2] and frequently serve as objects of barter among the various communities.

5. They invariably use, unmixed with any other substance, a particular description of clay called by them *būj-pâ-*, which is only found in a few places, where, of course, the work is usually carried on: the method pursued is similar to that practised by the Kaffirs, and the only implements employed are a short pointed stick, an *Arca* shell (the variety called *pŏ·rma-*), and a board, which is generally either a sounding board (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*[3]), or, if sufficiently large, an eating tray (*pū·kuta-yât-mâk·nga-*[4]).

6. As nothing of the character of a potter's wheel is known among them, the shape of the vessels depends upon the skill of the operator and upon the correctness of his eye. The first step in the process of making a pot is to remove any stones that are in the clay, which is then moistened with water and kneaded until it is of a proper consistency; several lumps are next rolled out in succession on the board, by means of the fingers and palms, into strips of about fifteen inches long and half-an-inch thick: one of these is now twisted by the artist into a cup-like shape,[5] in order to form the base of the pot, which he proceeds to build up, taking care the while to exert sufficient pressure to ensure a uniform thickness, by adding one roll above another, each one commencing where the last ended, until the required dimensions are attained; then, if it be sufficiently firm and consolidated, an *Arca* shell is carefully passed (*ngâ·tanga-*) over the inner and outer surfaces, which are thus rendered smoother, and are at the same time freed from any minute bits of stone that had previously escaped observation; the serrated edges of the

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.
[2] *Vide ante* "Food," paragraphs 12, 21, and 27.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 19.
[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 72.
[5] The pots made by the *.yĕ·rewa-* and *.jăr·awa-* tribes (*i.e.*, North and Little Andaman) have up to the present time been found to have a more pointed base than those of the five *.bo·jig* tribes, but I believe no Andaman pot intended for cooking purposes has yet been made of such a shape as to allow of its standing. The small cup- (or sometimes saucer-) like pots (*vide* Plate VII, fig. 19*a*) are used for making and warming *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

themselves declare that they never haft the stone chips or glass flakes, and that the former are never "sharpened," but produced in the manner already described.

7. Quartz is commonly met with throughout the country occupied by the tribes with which we are in friendly intercourse; no difficulty, therefore, is ever experienced in obtaining *it*, or, indeed, *any* of the other varieties of stone which they use. It is employed for no other purposes than those here indicated, as has been assumed,[1] and the art of producing fire by its means is unknown to them.[2]

8. The whetstone and hammer only are offered as mediums of exchange, but no great value is attached to either of these objects, nor is any superstition associated with their usage: they are therefore—when no longer serviceable—cast aside.

9. Stones are not used by them for cutting wood or bone, the latter being usually crushed by a hammer for the sake of the marrow. Before the introduction of iron, small holes were bored with bone or pieces of shell, but rarely, if ever, with stone, and no implement has been found which might be supposed to have served as a stone saw or scraper, for which purposes shells apparently have been generally employed.[3]

10. In his "Note on the Kjokken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands" the late Dr. Stoliczka also refers to a celt found in one of these refuse heaps as "a small but typical arrow-head," and describes it as of tertiary sandstone. The Andamanese, however, maintain that they never, even when iron was scarce, made arrow-heads, axes, adzes, or chisels of stone; they also affirm that the fragments which have been found in the kitchen-middens, and which have given rise to the impression of having formerly served one or other of the above purposes are merely quartz flakes or broken pieces of cooking stones or hones which, in former times as now, were thrown among the rubbish when no longer of use.[4]

11. Stones are not regarded as thunderbolts or worn as amulets: they are not placed in water previous to their being worked, and holes are never bored in them, nor is the surface ever ground or polished.

[1] "From the flint they manufactured knives . . . and arrow-heads" (de Röepstorff), and elsewhere he speaks of "flint hatchets," which not improbably were as much unknown in former times as at the present day. *Perna ephippium* (*ē-la-*) shells were formerly sharpened and converted into arrow-heads: hence *ē-la-* has ever since been adopted as the name of the bladed (or pig) arrow, even although iron has now been entirely or very generally substituted for shell. Adze blades were, it seems, sometimes made of *Pinna* shells.

[2] *Vide ante* "Fire," paragraphs 1 and 4.

[3] *Vide ante* "Natural Forms," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide* my remarks on this subject in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

161 From this diagram it becomes pretty evident that the Jarawa population
162 for Rutland Island has been assumed at too high a figure, both for the past and
present time. At the same time I think that it is equally probable that the
population of the Onges has been underestimated. Taking all the calculations
and known facts into consideration, my own opinion is that the assumptions for
619 the Andaman population as a whole, both for the past and the present are
probably near the truth, but that we should decrease the Jarawa estimate for
Rutland Island (and to that extent the whole Jarawa population) by 100, and
increase the Onge estimate by 100.

Method of arriving at Former Density.—Portman, *History of our relations with the Andamanese*, Volume I, page 16, gives the following reasons for holding the Andamanese population to have been formerly stationary:—

"When we consider that some Andamanese have no children, very few have more than three, the majority of the children die in infancy, and the grown-up Andamanese revenges the slightest injury to his person or property or even a fancied insult by a murder and also that the Tribes were continually at feud with each other, I think we may say the above estimated population (his estimate is 8,000) to be the average for many centuries past."

This is an overstatement, as in the first place it is necessary in a stationary population for each couple to produce on an average two children, who grow up and produce again in their turn, and in the next place, though an Andamanese will murder on, to us, extremely slight provocation, he is not a murderous variety of mankind and in tribal "wars" the bloodshed at each collision is very small indeed. In the next place, as Portman himself observes, the average number of children to a married woman was three, while instances of seven and eight children of one mother have been recorded. The statement is however an interesting one, as an observation on these primitive savages and their ways and as indicating the causes for the population being kept stationary.

161 **The Kitchen-Middens.**—Portman also points out (*op. cit.*, p. 17) that an
• 172 estimate of the old population can be arrived at from locating and enumerating the existing kitchen-middens of the Andamanese, on the assumptions that each midden represents the head-quarters of a Sept of 30 people and that apparently each Sept, owing to the habits of the people, would require four to five such head-quarters. A population of 5,000 would therefore require, say, 600 middens, *i.e.*, there should be a midden to every four square miles of territory.

The value of the kitchen-midden argument comes out thus:—(1) The size, 50 feet diameter usually, does not permit more than 30 people to live on it; (2) change of head-quarters is frequently necessary owing to (*a*) monsoons, (*b*) exhaustion of food in the neighbourhood, (*c*) nomadic instincts, (*d*) stench from discarded food thrown around. As a matter of practice the Andamanese do not return for three months after they have left a midden, nor for about a year after a death in one, and occasionally they abandon a midden for many years, and cannot occupy one for more than a few weeks at a time from the stench about it. These considerations fix four as the smallest number of middens per 30 people.

The middens also beyond all doubt prove that the Andamanese are now as they were an exceedingly long time ago. There are but few "newer" middens, and the older ones show great age: newness and age being gauged by height. The antiquity of the old middens is proved by the fossil shells at the base. Now, except that certain shell-fish have been fashionable at one period and certain others at another, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese finds his food to-day as he did in the days when the now fossilised shells contained food for him. At the base of the middens are found the same refuse and the same pottery as we find shown on the surface to-day.

Here then we have a people unaltered in habits from primeval time and whose numbers, if these premises be correct, we should be able to estimate from existing data, as they must have been stationary through all time.

The questions on this argument really are therefore:—(1) how many middens are there? (2) where are they? To these questions it is worth while obtaining answers at the next Census or even as opportunity occurs, as the answers will either upset the theory or afford an approximate estimate of the old Andamanese population and of the strength of each tribe.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER III.

ETHNOGRAPHY.

I. The Race.—The Affinities of the Race—Its Antiquity—Early Descriptions—The Charge of Cannibalism—The Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report—The Twelve Tribes—Their Division into Three Groups—The Distinctions between the Groups—The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese—The Former Isolation of the Tribes—Their Sympathies and Antipathies—Fighting Capacity—The Hostile Jarawas—Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789)—Explanation of the Name Mincopie for the Andamanese—Relations with the English—Jarawa Raids.

II. Physical Characteristics.—Portman and Molesworth's enquiries—Man's enquiries—High Temperature—Breathing—Age—Reproduction—Endurance—Food—Skin—Hair—Bodily Parts—Diseases—Medicine—Appearance.

III. Mental Characteristics.—Sense Development—Character—Mental Capacities—Social Emotions—General Capacities.

IV. Habits and Customs.—Dwellings—Government—Religion—Superstitions—Mythology—Initiatory Ceremonies—Amusements—Music—Song—Games—Naming of Children and Adults—Marriage Relations—Death Ceremonies.

V. Arts.—Stone Implements—Weapons—Domestic Arts—String and Netting—Weaving—Pottery—Wood and Cane work—Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.

I. The Race.

The Affinities of the Race.—The Andaman Islands, so near to countries that have for ages attained a considerable civilisation and have been the seat of important empires, and close to the track of a great commerce which has gone on for at least 2,000 years, continue to our day the abode of savages as low in civilisation as almost any known upon earth, though close observation of them discloses the immense distance between them and the highest of the brute beasts in mental development, one most notable fact being that they eat nothing raw, cooking all their food however slightly and making pots for the purpose, and this from time immemorial. 144

As to what general variety of the existing human beings the Andamanese belong, it can be clearly predicated of them that their various tribes belong to one people, speaking varieties of one fundamental language, and that they are Negritos. Many theories have been advanced as to their affinities; the most credible being that they are connected with the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines, and the silliest, though not the least persistent, that they are descendants of shipwrecked cargoes of African slaves. On the whole the safest thing to say about them is that they are probably the relics of a bygone Negrito race, now represented by themselves, the Semangs, and the Aetas, that in very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic continent and its outlying islands before the irruptions of the oldest of the peoples, whose existence or traces can now be found there. In this view the Andamanese are of extreme interest as preserving, owing to an indefinite number of centuries of complete isolation, in their persons and customs the last pure remnant of the oldest kind of man in existence. The possibility of their representing the archaic type of the Negrito and the consequent extreme ethnological interest they arouse was long since pointed out by Sir W. Flower.

It is to be noted however that Professor Owen considered them to be not connected on anatomical grounds with the people of any existing continent. A notice of the points on which Semangs and Andamanese agree and differ will be found in Appendix A.

The antiquity of the Andamanese on their present site is proved by their kitchen-middens, rising from 12 to 15 feet and more in height, and in some cases having fossilised shells at the base. As has been already noted, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese now gets his food just as he did in the days when the now fossil shells contained living organisms. 172

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903/ AZ2 Andamans AZ2

172 The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Baratang in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

175 **Early Descriptions.**—I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A. D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus:—

"The men are entirely naked while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A. D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time.

175 266 "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it; in such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt; but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jarawas touch the coast and the wilder Onges reside, the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament.

[766] **Charge of Cannibalism.**—The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result.

101 **Language of the Aka-Beada Tribe used in the Report.**—The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Aka-Bea-da. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbours, and it is therefore necessary for the purposes of this *Report* to adopt one set of names only throughout, and the set most convenient is naturally that of the Aka-Bea-da. In this language *aka* is a prefix with small variations to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I have throughout this *Report* discarded both these affixes and used the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Aka-Bea would, in answering such a question as "what is your tribe?", reply

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 411 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a 123 spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no [312] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen [172] midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

648 [721] In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material[3]. On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a cocoanut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

726 [714] 302 On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people [727] are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. – The type of arrow they use is [411] almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. 726 141 The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measurements of this dead man :

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

[3] They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

174 cause of reasonable grounds. In this search for the origin, some one has gone so far as to advocate a shipwreck of Portuguese Negro slaves whose survivors ultimately became the Andamanese. A number of theories about the origin of the Andamanese have been put forward by the different authorities.

The idea of the shipwreck and the survival of the Portuguese Negro slaves can be discarded forthwith. The negroes of Africa, though physically very much akin to the Andamanese, present appreciable differences and secondly the date of arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was 'only after the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, this would mean their coming sometime after the 15th Century, allowing not more than 500 years for the existence of the supposed shipwreck in the Andaman islands. The objections are 'great differences physically and materially from the people of Africa. Kitchen middens date back to milleniums i.e. long before the arrival of the Portuguese anywhere in Asia.'[1]

172 174

One of the very good clues for ascertaining the date of arrival of the Andamanese has been pointed out by Dr. Cipriani and he has conducted such a study in some parts of the Little Andaman and the Great Andamans. It is the study of the kitchen middens, that is, the accumulations of refuse, mostly of kitchen. Kitchen middens are fairly widespread and they are obviously the relics of a group of persons living in one spot. The kitchen middens, as they constitute the refuse of a group of persons, consist mostly of empty shells, nearly all bivalve, thrown after the contents have been eaten. The age of the kitchen midden can be calculated by counting the number of shells and the number that can be eaten by a person in one day. Cipriani writes that, 'Considering how many shells can be eaten everyday by one person and estimating the number of persons, that through the ages constituted to the formation of the deposit, it is possible to calculate the age of the kitchen middens, After the studies carried on the Onges we may say that every kitchen midden is formed as a result of the activities of a small group of some 30 to 40 persons who may frequent the spot for 40 to 50 days in a year. Their food is rarely formed of molluscs, they resort to these only when there is nothing to eat..... In this way many of the Andamanese accumulations, often huge, required a long period for their formation, a period to be calculated in thousands of years. Even if we reduce this number to half, the resulting antiquity

1 Ciprini, L—On the origin of the Andamanese, etc.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

is not in accordance with the opinion that the Andamanese are descendants of shipwrecked Portuguese Negro slaves.' Though this process seems to be very crude for the determination of the exact date of the arrival of the Andamanese, a rough guess can very well be made. Cipriani has also advocated the measurement of the residual radioactivity of charcoal at different levels for the determination of the antiquity of the Andamanese. It is quite obvious that further research in these lines in the future can only give us a more precise idea about the date of the arrival of the aborigines.

The region wherefrom the aborigines arrived and the route of their migration are also matters of considerable controversy. It is believed that the Andaman and Nicobar islands were connected by land with the Arakan folds of Burma in the late Tertiary period, but this is also not very certain. According to Brown, the authority on the anthropology of the Andamans, the negritoes migrated from the Arakan region of Burma if there had been any land connection and if not, they migrated, not by land, but by sea from the Burmese coast (Pegu or Arakan). Brown says, 'The N. E. Monsoon could drift them thence on to the Andamans. It is conceivable that they might have travelled from Sumatra by the way of the Nicobars but the N. E. Monsoon would have appeased their progress in this direction while the S. W. Monsoon would have driven them to the coast of the Andamans. It is hardly possible to imagine them coming from the Malaya Peninsula across the wide stretch of the Andaman Sea. The balance of possibility is in favour of the view that the Andamans were peopled either by land or by sea, from the region of the Lower Burma.'[1] It is probable that the negritoes moved from Burma either at a time when a direct land connection was achieved or when shallow waters in the sea facilitated movement by the rafts of the aborigines, but the former has been considered to be thoroughly untenable because of the absence of any mammalia in the Andamans and this proves that if at all there had been any land connection of Burma and Andamans, it must have been before the evolution of the mammalia. The deep sea researches of Molengraaf (1921) have been utilised by Kaudern (1939)[2] to interpret the probable routes of migration of the negritoes into the Andaman Islands. In the Quaternary period, there had been alternating glacial and interglacial periods because of the

1 Brown, A. R—The Andaman Islands.

2 Kaudern, W—Notes on the geographical distribution of the pygmies and their possible affinities; Etno. Stud. 9, 1939.

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Arioto

a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents, but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 immediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*

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Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt, when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.

One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat, fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

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ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

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The Onges are the most numerous of the three peoples surviving in the Andamans. Vigorous and apparently full of promise for the future they may well offer a suitable field for the application of eugenic measures designed to increase their numbers; this would be impossible with the Jarawas owing to their hostility towards outsiders, and the few remaining Arioto are nearly all of impure stock. If their confidence could be gained, it might be possible to encourage inter-marriage between the various groups, in the hope that fertility would increase and the ultimate total extinction of Onges, Jarawas and Arioto, would be prevented.

In the Andamanese, this physiological decline has been accompanied by cultural decadence, as my digs in the kitchen-middens all over the archipelago showed. The ancient pottery which came to light is proof enough; when one compares it with recent work the latter is indicative of secondary and not original primitiveness. The successive strata in the deposits show a gradual decline from earthenware clearly made from a very refined mix to crude ware with vegetable impurities and bits of stone left in the clay. The pots dating from ancient times were clearly well fired and the quality of the clay allowed them to have thin but nevertheless very strong walls. In the present-day ware, on the other hand, the wall has to be thick because of the coarseness of the clay, making the pots both heavy and easily broken. Moreover, firing is limited to drying the pots in the sun, and the clay is in fact only hardened when the pot is used for cooking.

Ignorance of fire-making in the Andamans may also stem from this cultural regression, as one of the effects of physiological and psychological decadence. Given the absence of magico-religious beliefs among the Andamanese, ignorance of fire-making cannot be attributed to any ritual taboo or veto. On the other hand, it is in sharp contrast to the possession of elements of cultural advance such as the bow, with highly developed arrows, the harpoon with its detachable point, and the outrigger canoe.

Few races are known, even in far distant times, which never had fire. *Sinanthropus* and nearly every fossil Man after him had fire, even if he was unable to create it and could only preserve it once received from some natural combustion. The Onges, while retaining a number of ethnic characteristics of the Palaeolithic era, have

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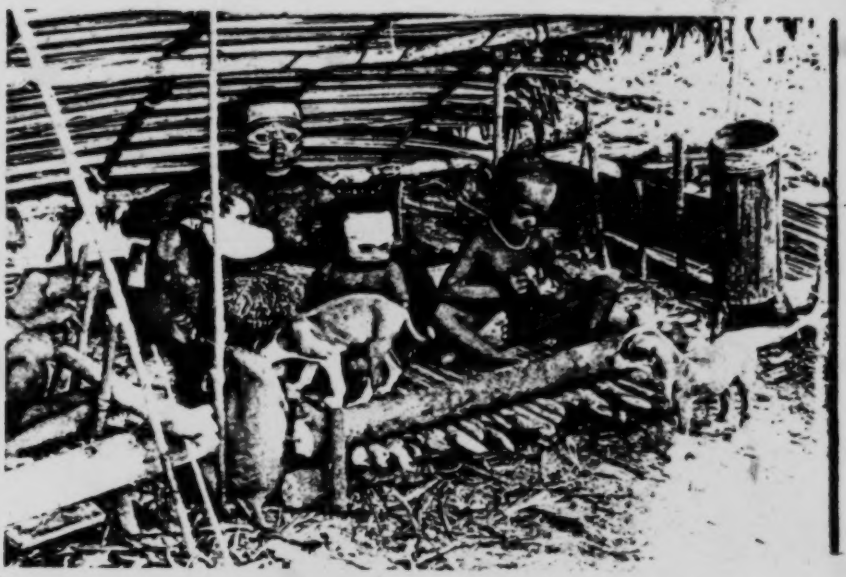

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing P. 67]

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only a crude form of body decoration based on geometrical designs.

They are, therefore, to be included among the most backward peoples of mankind, who have remained in a very simple form of social structure. They have never progressed to any elementary organization of themselves into 'clans', or even 'tribes'. They have, in short, the psychological outlook and concepts of other primitive peoples, modified by local conditions. The evidence in favour of the Onges of today being the product of cultural development over a very long period appears to me overwhelming, though their development has already been hindered by involution and, we must presume, a series of setbacks.

The Onges have thus remained culturally isolated and this has deprived them of the opportunities offered to the rest of the world. The time came when they ceased to receive or to elaborate new concepts, and from that point regression was inevitable. There is abundant evidence that their culture dates back to Palaeolithic times, so that they now represent the last and decadent expression of a very lengthy stage of biological and cultural development, a point of arrival, and not one of departure. Everywhere in the Andamans there are signs of an ancient culture which must once have spread over much of the world. It is neither logical nor practical to explain the similarity of many concepts as a series of convergences, all of independent origin; ideas must have spread outwards with the passage of time and the gradual population of habitable areas.

No study of present-day life on the Andamans can be complete without an attempt to build up a valid picture of the islands as they were centuries ago, and this we can do with some accuracy by a study of the kitchen-middens. These abound on Great Andaman, but few have been excavated, and then only briefly reported. Those of Little Andaman have not, for obvious reasons, previously been investigated, but they are of considerable importance for the light they cast on their own development and history, and on that of similar mounds outside the Andamans. It is only on Little Andaman that they are still being built up, continually increasing in size, forming a unique, direct and continuous link with life on the island thousands of years ago.

Provided they have not been damaged – for example by rain or

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172 earth tremors – they are all regular in shape. The base is circular, and the round mound rises as a truncated cone, at an angle of forty-five degrees. The circumference at the base varies, and can be as small as fifty metres, although a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty metres is more usual, and some are even larger. The height of the cone varies from two to ten metres or more, depending on the length of time the site has been in continuous occupation.

Excavations showed how slowly these mounds have accumulated, often only twenty centimetres in a hundred years. This is due to pressing down of the mound by the normal activities of the occupants of the hut, and by the fact that the Onges move so frequently from place to place; only about a sixth of the year is spent in the communal huts. It is possible that over the undisturbed centuries before outsiders came to the island the middens grew rapidly, but it is not unreasonable to assume a growth of ten metres in five thousand years. Dating by the radio-carbon method, which it is hoped is to be undertaken at the University of Rome, should confirm this estimate.

Before I began digging I had, although with some reservations, accepted the standard ideas about the formation of the kitchen-middens. I was, for example, doubtful about their regular shape, which did not seem to fit the accepted theory that those of Great Andaman were related to purely temporary encampments; I did not see that the very regular shape of the middens fitted such a picture.

On Great Andaman, the continuous strife between Arioto and Eremtaga, making permanent camps too vulnerable, led to their final disappearance at the beginning of the century and all further growth of the middens ceased. Most of them are in the coastal areas, and must therefore derive from the Arioto. Previous investigators were therefore handicapped by having to excavate abandoned mounds, of which none of the islanders had any personal knowledge and which they could not attempt to explain.

It seemed, therefore, that to gain any real knowledge of these structures, and hence of the people both past and present who built them up, it would be necessary to dig in the active mounds of Little Andaman. These derived from the communal huts on the island which interested me particularly – Cemalè, Lulera, Torabeh

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and Totamaddulù, the first a day's journey into the forest from Berié-Abdalù, the second two days from Labanar, and the others both near Togalanghe.

On both Great Andaman and Little Andaman the kitchen-middens yield a vast quantity of animal remains, bones and a great number of shells, with very little earth. The shells diminish in the upper levels, to be replaced by bones of *Sus andamanensis*, the wild pig of the islands, the change coinciding with the arrival of the dog in the islands; the revolution which this introduction brought into the life of the islanders is at once evident.

My first excavations in 1951 were limited to establishing which mounds looked promising for future digs. I made soundings in the north, middle and south of Great Andaman and found that near each midden there were invariably abundant food supplies, as well as fresh water, sometimes running, sometimes in pools. The excavations went on for sixty days, aided by a first-class gang of men from Bihar, who even agreed, in view of the necessity of concentrated digging, to forgo their customary feast days. To these preliminary excavations I returned later on a number of occasions,[1] using them as controls.

My first real dig began on 5 January 1952 in a fine midden on Middle Andaman, a few hours' march from the forest station of Long Island, at a place known as Beehive Hill, or Golpahar in Hindi. The water pipe installed for the benefit of the colonists on Long Island draws from a spring, and on its way to the reservoir on the shore it runs right through the centre of the midden. Emerging, it runs for a hundred and fifty metres through a mangrove swamp stinking with vile black mud, which in fact served as an excellent means of dating the layers, by relating them to the rise and fall in the ground level of the swamp over the last few thousands of years.

The whole of the time we were there we had to work with look-outs posted ready for any Jarawas trying an ambush; to the north of the midden the grave of a Burmese killed by them a short time before was a grim warning. We did a great deal of shooting, but fortunately only for game. Fallow deer descended from imported

[1] With a number of young Indians very kindly allocated to my assistance by the anthropological service of the Government of India, and to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their enthusiastic help, often under the most trying conditions.

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end of June 1953 there were legions of them. In contrast to the frogs, who were completely silent unless the atmosphere was calm, these cicadas only chirped when it was pouring with rain and blowing a gale, and then only at dawn and at dusk. Unlike other Asiatic species, they hopped from tree to tree between their momentary bursts of chirping, so that from minute to minute the chirping moved en bloc and made it almost impossible to catch them. When they were silent they were completely invisible against the branches, so that although we knew they were motionless we were still unable to catch them.

Surrounded by these diversions we began digging seriously. I must make it clear from the outset that in recording my findings I make no claim to saying the last word on the subject. All I hope to do is to report what I have been able to deduce from the combination of my personal observations of islanders as they are today and the evidence which I found in their kitchen-middens both of the past and of the present.

Though not as large as some I found later, the midden at Golpahar, like all the rest, was a truncated cone, beaten into a dome by the monsoons, and at the time of my excavation it was about five metres high with a circumference of a hundred and ten metres and a diameter of thirty-six metres. I removed half, leaving the other half so that others might later check my findings.

Ninety per cent of the contents proved to be shells, chiefly bivalves, and mainly *Cyrena*. As the shell content was clearly fairly constant I tried to calculate the total in the whole midden; and by taking into account the nomadic life of the present-day inhabitants of the island, and their eating habits, it was possible to reach a reasonable estimate of the age of the deposit.

Each midden can be regarded as attributable to the food refuse of groups of thirty to forty people, living at the site for forty to fifty days a year or less. Shellfish can never have been the islanders' sole diet. They are certainly not today – shellfish of any kind are only eaten when there is nothing else to be had, and then only in certain localities where it is not too much trouble to carry them to the camp. In other words, although shells formed the greater part of the deposit, they will only have been added to it sporadically. In the absence of some complete change of habits, unlikely in such cautious people as the Andamanese, we may deduce that the midden

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172 rose extremely slowly, taking four to five thousand years to reach its present size. One also has to take into account periods of complete abandonment, evidenced by sterile layers of black mud, resulting from changes in the level of the nearby swamps, so that very great antiquity of the midden can be confidently assumed.

The Golpahar midden, however, does not date from the first arrival of the Negritos in the archipelago. Another nearby, with a circumference at the base of little over fifty metres, and three metres high, has in its lowest layers abundant remains of bivalves which are now rare if not absent in the Andamans, and completely absent at Golpahar itself. Among them are *Ostrea crista galli* and *Pectunculus anrantius*. The close proximity of the two middens may indicate the abandonment of the smaller for a new and larger site. Future investigations will show whether the smaller of these two is in fact the oldest attributable to the Negritos; it is the same type as that at Maya Bandar, where appalling weather and mud forced me to abandon work.

To establish comparisons between enough middens to draw any real conclusions as to their antiquity and the date of Man's arrival in the archipelago, it will be necessary to excavate and map a large number. At the moment, apart from the few previous excavations to which I have referred, mine are the only ones and I cannot overstress the necessity for further work to establish, or refute, the tentative conclusions I have drawn.

On Little Andaman food of all kinds is so abundant that shells were comparatively rare among the refuse, and the middens have grown much more slowly. It is, moreover, difficult to identify the abandoned ones, as the luxuriant vegetation hides them from view. It is not impossible, however, that they may ultimately be shown to date further back than those on Great Andaman, and that this, together with the fact of their continued growth at the present time, may provide valuable information.

At Golpahar, apart from the shells forming ninety per cent of the lower strata, I found bones of marine and land mammals, and of fish, turtles and birds, arrow-heads made of bone, *Tridacna* and the spines of large fish, bits of stone, and an enormous number of tiny splinters of obsidian and other very hard materials.

In some places it was difficult to identify the various layers. Normal palaeontological criteria were difficult to apply, as most of the

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remains belonged to species still extant. Some chronological assistance was given, however, by four different stratifications due to evident changes in the level of the adjacent marshes, resulting not from any general marine phenomena, but from numerous land movements. On these occasions the cliffs sank, the sea flowed inland and corals flourished, later to be buried by the black ooze and mud of the mangrove swamps.

The maximum rise in the sea-level during the growth of the midden was a little over three metres, and affected a wide area. The date could be established by a full geological study of the archipelago as a whole, but it is clear that although this and similar occurrences had direct stratigraphic effects on the middens, the results were manifest only over very long periods of time.

Refuse from introductions of European origin, such as pipes, glass bottles, shot pellets, pieces of iron, etc., appear in the top level, only fifteen centimetres thick and dating back about a hundred years. There were no dog bones either here or anywhere else on Little or Great Andaman. Recently introduced, the dog clearly caused an increase in the amount of pig remains, and a parallel reduction in shell refuse. Below the fifteen centimetres level, iron, imported pipes and glass fragments disappear, and the crab-claw pipes, still used today by the Onges, begin to emerge. The smoking habit must, as I have said, date from very ancient times, as traces of these claw pipes appear in the lowest strata, in contact with virgin soil.[1]

The actual consistency of the layers, which vary considerably, can tell us much. At Golpahar, we reached a depth of about four metres from the top of the midden through refuse mixed with only a little loose earth, very easy to penetrate. Bones, shells and other objects emerged clean, as if only recently rejected. The situation altered suddenly about one metre from the bottom, when the strata became hard and cemented with a mixture of ashes and earth. In these layers the shells were calcified by exposure to fire, and so fragile that they could only be recovered in broken pieces.

[1] It is obvious that smoking is a very ancient vice; leaves of the wild hemp are still smoked in Africa as they were long before the discovery of tobacco and claw pipes like those of the Onges are found in Eastern New Guinea, especially on the south coast, and as far as the Torres Straits and the Melville Straits. In Australia these pipes appear only in a few coastal areas in the east and north, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, and they are not found in the rest of Australia or in Polynesia.

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172 It is clear from this that when they first arrived in the Andamans, the Negritos had no pottery; there are no signs of it at all in the lowest levels. Before they acquired the use of earthenware, perhaps for centuries, they baked their shellfish in ashes, so that the shells became calcified; but as time went on they came to boil them, as the islanders still do today. There is a clear distinction between the ashy, fragile, almost fossilized appearance of the former, and the cleaner solidity of the latter.

172 178 323 In the lowest level in which it appears, the pottery shows signs of careful working of the clay and good firing, degenerating towards more recent times. The uppermost layers reveal the crudest ware, the clay being impure, carelessly mixed, with bits of stone in it and hardly fired at all; it appears to have been merely dried by exposure to the sun and hardened in the course of normal use, as the Onges do today. The resulting pots break easily, despite their thickness, in contrast to the thinner, but much stronger, walls of earlier pottery. They were built up by the coil technique, exactly as they are made on Chowra, the one island in the Nicobars which specializes in pottery.

172 171 323 On Great Nicobar, among the Shom-Pen, these exists also another, cruder type of pottery which is made by a very primitive method. A basket is covered with clay, and hardened in the fire without being properly fired; fragments of this type of pottery retain the marks of the basket inside. The kitchen-middens of the Andamans contain no traces of any primitive stage of this kind; instead, a somewhat refined form of earthenware appears suddenly. There are traces of ornamentation, rows of small lines, usually roughly parallel. No such ornamentation appears on the crude ware of more recent date, however.

171 323 Andamanese pots have always been made with a pointed base which prevents their standing upright, so that they have to be carried in baskets, exactly like those of the Shom-Pen, who make their pots in complete ignorance of the Andamanese and Chowra pottery.

Pottery did not form part of the culture of the Negritos of ancient times. Neither the Semang of Malacca nor the Aetà of the Philippines, their last remnants, nor the Andamanese, had any. The custom of hollowing out logs for use as vessels, and the continuing use of the earth oven, doubtless made the absence of any pottery no hardship.

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If we may deduce from the evidence of the middens, pottery arrived in the Andamans at the same time as the pig, bones of which appear only in the upper levels; but we know nothing of the people responsible for the introduction of either. It is, however, certain that both arrived in Great Andaman and Little Andaman together.

There are indications that Little Andaman was the first to feel the benefit of pottery, possibly introduced by a light-skinned people. There are, as I have said, significant variations of skin colour and stature among the Onges; some have markedly lighter skins than the other islanders, and one would assume that this feature entered Little Andaman from the Nicobars with the unknown people who brought with them pottery and the pig. The people as an entity have disappeared as a result of inter-marriage with the indigenous population, while pigs reverted to the wild state and flourished, even spreading from one island to another by swimming (I can vouch for this, having seen them do it).[1]

The indications are that there were migrations from Little Andaman to Great Andaman long before those from which the Jarawas derive. In certain respects they resemble the Onges, whereas the surviving Arioto appear to represent a purer stock. The Onges seem to have acquired foreign blood in relatively recent times, perhaps when pigs and pottery appeared, when the kitchen-middens of Great Andaman were already being built up by the Arioto, but before the migration northwards by which the Jarawas reached their present home. Much more intensive investigation of the middens will, however, be needed before these hypotheses can be confirmed.

At Golpahar there were within the midden five graves containing human bones, not in anatomical position, and clearly filled in with fresh earth. I was surprised to find only the long bones, skulls and jawbones; the remaining bones could not be found. This may be explained by the custom among the Arioto (still prevailing

[1] One thing is puzzling: the three remaining groups of primitive Negritos in Malacca and the Philippines have the arrow harpoon with a detachable head. This is particularly valuable in the forests against the pigs, which cannot escape into the undergrowth once they have been hit. But it is difficult to see how or why the arrow harpoon reached the Andamans, where there were at that time no large mammals. It seems necessary to postulate the former spread of the weapon with the Negritos over a very wide area and its use against a much wider range of animals.

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among the Onges) of wearing not only necklaces of the carpals and tarsals of deceased kin or pieces of rib, but also, in some groups, the skulls, painted with ochre and hanging from a cord round the neck. The long bones, painted red and white, were reburied in the communal hut. The Onges of today carry only the coloured jawbones of their kin.

No ornaments were found in the middens, nor did we expect to find any, as at death the Onges (and presumably their ancestors) bury all the personal objects of the deceased secretly in the forest, where the termites destroy all traces.

Not all the Arioto can have carried skulls and jawbones. Some clearly carried neither, as all the bones are sometimes found in the middens. A few middens are completely without human bones, particularly in the Port Blair area. Nevertheless at Ciauldari (or Chowldary), ten kilometres to the west, I found in January 1954 long bones without the skull or jawbones, and at Maya Bandar in 1953 I saw almost complete skeletons, not in anatomical position, owing to exhumation and reburial, but including skull, jawbones and in a number of cases the small bones as well.

The evidence of the middens thus clearly shows that burial and subsequent customs differed considerably among the various groups of islanders in the past, as they do today. The majority, judging from the Onges, seem to have remained faithful to a given custom, the dead in all cases continuing to remain a part of the group, whether or not any particular bone was carried about by the members of the group.

It is somewhat surprising to find customs varying so markedly in so primitive and numerically small a population, even though isolated in groups. The explanation lies in the fact that long-established customs may be altered overnight as the result of a 'revelation' by some seer, only to have the new customs overthrown themselves in the course of time by the next 'revelation'. I had an experience of this in the Onges when Enagaghe, a well-known seer, announced one day that he had received an order from the spirits about the way in which hunting trophies were to be displayed. No longer were pig jawbones to be impaled one behind the other on poles hung horizontally along the sloping roof of the hut a little above the hunter's bed. The whole skull, including the jawbones, was to be preserved, the bones held together in their natural

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1954 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

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The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the conflict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

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been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jarawas, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system. Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fighting with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

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The widespread use of the arrow and spear harpoons since very ancient times is evidenced by their survival in areas far removed from each other, and among primitive peoples geographically completely isolated. The arrival of the harpoon in the Andamans must in all probability have occurred thousands of years ago when it was widespread at least in the south and south-east of the Asian continent. Even the Andamanese canoes with their platforms fore and aft built specially for the harpoon throwers indicate not only the antiquity of the islanders, but also their historical and cultural connection with the peoples represented today by the few remaining Negritos.

From the evidence of the middens it is clear that the links between the Onges and the Jarawas are very close. While the date of the first migration from Little Andaman to Great Andaman remains uncertain there can be no doubt that migrations took place, followed by isolation within the islands, until today the Arioto cannot understand the Eremtaga, and the Onges neither the Jarawas nor the Sentinellese. There is very little in the literature on the Jarawas and their origin, but from my own observations I would deduce that they arrived in Great Andaman comparatively recently, as even their subsequent rigid isolation has not brought about any really essential cultural differences from the Onges.

The route of the migration will undoubtedly have led them via Rutland, whose heights can be seen as an open invitation from the north of Little Andaman. Chains of small, uninhabited islands lie between; the Onges have a name for all of them and have camp sites there for use on hunting or fishing expeditions; the Arioto, on the other hand, do not appear ever to have been to the islands. From Rutland migrations would have moved on to Great Andaman, until, filtering through to the extreme north, they became the Jarawas, or 'strangers', as the Arioto still call them. The Arioto themselves probably arrived previously by the same route but stopped in the coastal areas, then uninhabited and inviting occupation. The Arioto would have considered themselves owners of the still uninhabited areas and tried to exclude later immigrants; so began the hostility I have already described between the occupiers of the coasts and the later arrivals whom they forced into the depths of the forests.

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136 Andaman, in Yeratil Jig (near Port Anson, about fifteen miles from Long Island) in Diglipur (or Dilyapur) Creek, near Port Cornwallis, and in Wilima Jig,[1] but they are now extinct. In March 1952 the Onges had described the presence of crocodiles so clearly to me as to leave no doubt what they meant, and I soon received confirmation when I found their tracks on the sand about one kilometre from the mouth of Jackson Creek, on the right bank, and then saw some lying on the shore across the creek. Through my field glasses I saw small birds pecking between the teeth of the great wide-open jaws. As we approached they slid lazily into the sea, some reappearing a little later, their cavernous mouths rising vertically out of the water. Every day after that I saw them swimming quietly near the banks, and one afternoon my men and I between us saw over a dozen, near Nachuge, dozing in the mud or in the water.

[825] [198] The Onges assured me that crocodiles will come out of the water to a certain whistle. I got them to try it; the Onges whistled, and whistled again, but no crocodiles came!

237 321 276 ● 172 Very different from the great turtles and the crocodiles, but equally important in the daily life of the Onges, are the crabs from which the islanders make their ancient and very characteristic pipes. They eat the crabs and use the claws to make the pipes, cutting them across the joint and boring a hole in the end, as they have done since time immemorial, to smoke aromatic leaves from the forest. Fragments of similar pipes, charred with use, appear in even the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, dating back thousands of years and proving the antiquity of the smoking habit. Contrary to popular belief, smoking did not begin everywhere with the introduction of tobacco – in Asia at least men smoked thousands of years ago.

237 276 171 The claw pipes of the Onges have a groove cut round the end which goes into the mouth, so that the teeth can grip it better. I have seen identical pipes, with the same groove, in the Melville Islands, where there are many other signs of ethnographic connections with the Andamans. The canoes, for example, are identical with those of the Andamans; the peoples themselves, however, are today very different physically.

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[165] [1] According to Portman a man was dragged into the water here on 11 May 1894 by a crocodile and killed; several similar incidents have occurred since.

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curly hair; on Car Nicobar I was taken to a cave[1] where these people are said to have lived. The ethnographical evidence is such that there may well be some truth in the legend. The close similarity in detail, even identity, of the Onge and Nicobar canoes, and spiralled pottery, the presence in the wild state of the pig – the sum of this and other evidence cannot be overlooked. Car would have been the last point before the Andamans in the Negrito advance from the east. They would have remained on Car for a long time before moving on to the Andamans, and since Car is a completely flat coral deposit, with no true stone at all, it may be assumed that it was during their sojourn on Car that the Negritos lost the art of working it; this would explain the complete absence of stone implements in the Andamans.

The Negritos would thus have occupied the Nicobars before the mongoloids, and were then, as the somatic evidence shows, partially absorbed, or moved on to the Andamans. The burial customs and superstitions of the Andamanese reflect Nicobar influence with disinterment, reburial and retention of certain bones; such customs are also found sporadically in Oceania. Ritual governing hunting trophies is also very similar, as are weapons. The three-pointed arrow was found in both the Nicobars and the Andamans until comparatively recently; the Onges have none now, but their descendants – the Sentinellese and Jarawas – still used them very recently. Both the Nicobarese and the peoples of the Andamans (also various peoples in Indonesia and Oceania) cook without any form of salt. This is also the case in certain islands of the west coast of Sumatra, where there are also other similarities from huts to

[1] On 20 April 1952, I visited this cave with Sri B. S. Cengappa, head of the 1952 Nicobar Expedition; in the report of the expedition he did me the honour of naming the cave 'Cipriani Cave'. A schoolmaster on Car Nicobar told me of other caves in the archipelago, which had similar traditions of occupation in very ancient times. One facing the sea on the east coast of Catcial, one of the Nancowry group, was of considerable size, about a hundred metres long and fifteen metres high, and wider, its floor covered in a layer of guano. The same guano covered the floor of Cipriani Cave, which lies in a coral formation little more than ten metres above present sea-level. It has two openings, diametrically opposite and thirty-five metres apart. The cave consists of a wide central chamber, about seven metres in diameter, with many stalactites and stalagmites. Fortunately none of the archaeological deposit was damaged by the Japanese occupation and the traditions attached to the cave remain alive among the Nicobarese. It would need at least ten men working for at least six months to investigate the cave properly, but I am sure that the results would amply justify the cost of such an expedition.

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way in which the spirits are invoked against enemies, involving the use of some personal possession – an example is the invariable destruction of the used *naquineghe*, or of hair after shaving. The same fear of the night induced by the idea of spirits walking abroad led to the making of torches from rolled palm leaves containing a mixture of embers and resin.

From the Andamans to Oceania the chief spirit is generally imagined in the form of a giant lizard, living at the top of the sky and ruling the storms; none of the peoples who believe in him ever eat any lizard or lizard-like creature. All of them have the same sexually suggestive dances, both male and female, sometimes inspired by the monitor or dragon-lizard, symbol of desire, and often associated with miming and dramatic representations of real and imaginary scenes. These dances, with their *joie de vivre*, are accompanied by the smoking of aromatic leaves in pipes which are frequently made from natural objects such as the claws of crustacea. The Onges in fact have since very ancient times used only this type as shown in the lower levels of the kitchen-middens dating back at least five thousand years. Everywhere, pipes of this kind are used indiscriminately by both sexes, passing from mouth to mouth. Pipes identical in every way with those of the Onges are found to the east of the archipelago, well into Oceania, and I have myself also seen them on Melville Island, north of Australia, always with the same notches for the teeth to grip. This undeniable evidence of the spread of identical pipes over so wide an area long before the possibility of European contacts cannot in my opinion be attributed other than to migration over vast distances in very ancient times.

Similar coincidences apply in the case of the arrow harpoon and indeed harpoons in general. I cannot agree with Brown in his assertion that the harpoon dates from the arrival of European influences, which brought the use of iron; the harpoon points made by long and patient working of *Tridacna* shells which I found in the kitchen-middens of the Andamans are in my view enough to refute the theory.

The canoes from which these harpoons are used, with the absence of distinction between bow and stern and the single float on the lee side, are extremely typical. They are identical in peoples which have been widely separated for a very long time and appear not only on the Andamans, and as far as Oceania, but also in North

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Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era.

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic.

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the

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325 islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

372 174 The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

174 263 Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

252 172 Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

415 285 172 The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

323 172 As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the

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kitchen-middens to have been contemporaneous with the introduction of the pig, i.e. to have been introduced by outsiders. It would be possible, using radio carbon methods, to calculate this date more accurately, but on purely archaeological evidence the introduction of pottery would appear to have occurred some five thousand years ago.

8 ABSENCE OF CANNIBALISM

If we may accept the evidence of the kitchen-middens, there has never at any time been cannibalism in the Andamans, although the practice certainly existed in the later Palaeolithic era; the Andamanese must thus have been isolated in the archipelago long before the practice became widespread.

9 DRINK

The Andamanese ignorance of any drink other than water may be regarded as additional evidence of the great antiquity of their culture.

10 ABSENCE OF CLOTHING

The Jarawas of both sexes have always remained completely naked. The Onges have only in comparatively recent times adopted a form of genital covering for their womenfolk; this custom has spread as far as the north of Great Andaman, and it seems probable that the separation of the Jarawas from the Onges dates from this time.

11 ABSENCE OF TATTOOING

All primitive peoples who are habitually completely naked adorn the body in some way. The Onges have never progressed beyond the early stage of painting themselves with ochre, and do not tattoo. Their sole ornaments are small necklaces of tusk shells, strips of bark, and sometimes flowers. In all this they resemble the Tasmans (see, however, p. 143 for certain important differences), who seem to have remained in an equally early stage of cultural development.

12 TOTEMISM AND THE CLAN

Here again the complete absence of any traces appears to indicate isolation before the spread of these very ancient concepts. Neither the Onges nor the Jarawas have ever progressed beyond the stage of independent groups of families.

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622 groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

595 The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed
837 beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually un-
585 known. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence
[194] of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

172 The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living
174 apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to
764 the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

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765 The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

301 The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

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775 There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in
764 the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

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or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

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When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

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In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

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The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

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The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

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There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed.

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There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.

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27 WEAPONS

The wall paintings of the Palaeolithic era depict bows and arrows, the former of both the simple and the double-curve type, and the latter with one or more points, similar to those still used in the Andamans. (The same *marques de chasse* as those found on bone arrowheads of the late Palaeolithic era were on *Tridacna* arrowheads which I found in the lower strata of the kitchen-middens.) The harpoon, with detachable point and cord, was widespread in the late Palaeolithic era, and this too has persisted unchanged to the present day in the Andamans.

28 NAVIGATION

There is no proof that Palaeolithic Man travelled by water, but it can be argued that the proven antiquity of the Andamanese culture is of itself evidence in favour of the supposition that he did.

The author is of the opinion that the sum of the evidence outlined above is overwhelmingly in favour of the continuing existence in the Andamans of what may well be a virtually unchanged Palaeolithic or even pre-lithic culture.